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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02586 01 OF 03 041600Z
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N2/N22//
USEUCOM VAHINGEN GM//ECJ3/ECJ5//
USEC BRUSSELS
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 1175

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 ZAGREB 02586

SIPDIS

GENEVA FOR USDEL ICFY - JACKOVICH

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

-

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: [PREF](#) [PHUM](#) [HR](#) [PHUM](#) [HR](#) [PHUM](#) [HR](#) [BK](#)

SUBJECT: CGY001: THE UGLY VIRUS OF MORAL SYMMETRY -
- WHO IS DOING THE "ETHNIC CLEANSING" IN B-H?

REF: A) BELGRADE 12505 (NOTAL); B) ZAGREB 2554

[1](#)1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY COMMENT

[1](#)2. WE ARE FRANKLY APPALLED BY THE THRICE-REPEATED CLAIM IN REF A THAT THE EVENTS IN AND AROUND PROZOR OVER 6 WEEKS AGO CONSTITUTE HARD EVIDENCE OF PAST AND LIKELY FUTURE CROATIAN ETHNIC CLEANSING IN BOSNIA. FROM A POLICY STANDPOINT, THIS PERSISTENT ALLEGATION IS DANGEROUSLY DISTRACTING. AND PLAINLY INACCURATE
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02586 01 OF 03 041600Z
IN FACT. END SUMMARY COMMENT.

[1](#)3. WE ARE TROUBLED BY THE IMPLICATION THROUGHOUT REF A THAT THE FLIGHT OF ANY NUMBER OF PERSONS OF ANY ETHNIC GROUP IN B-H UNDER ANY ACTUAL OR FEARED THREAT FROM MEMBERS OF ANY OTHER ETHNIC GROUP CONSTITUTES, IPSO FACTO, "ETHNIC CLEANSING." TO APPLY THIS VERY EVOCATIVE TERM IN SUCH A MANNER IN OUR VIEW DEBASES ITS CONSIDERABLE USEFULNESS. THROUGHOUT THE LONG, WRENCHING SAGA OF YUGOSLAVIA'S BREAKUP, THE LEAP FROM SIMPLE RECOGNITION THAT NO SIDE IS WITHOUT BLAME TO THE POLICY-STULTIFYING CONCLUSION OF VIRTUAL MORAL EQUIVALENCE HAS BEEN MADE FAR TOO OFTEN AND TOO QUICKLY. AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND, WE LAUD THE FACT THAT USG SPOKESMEN HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR ABOUT WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR "ETHNIC CLEANSING" IN BOSNIA. AND WE THINK THE USG CAN TAKE PRIDE IN THE LEADING ROLE IT HAS PLAYED BOTH IN PUSHING FOR A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL TO IDENTIFY THE GUILTY (ON ANY SIDE) AND IN ASSEMBLING EVIDENCE TO ASSIST IN THAT PROCESS. CONTINUATION OF THIS USG CLEAR-HEADEDNESS WILL BE VITAL, WE BELIEVE, IF WE ARE TO COUNTER REPORTED SIGNALS FROM LORD OWEN, AMONG OTHERS, THAT TALK OF WAR CRIMES TRIBUNALS MAY NEED TO BE MUTED IN THE INTEREST OF FOSTERING POLITICAL COMPROMISE IN B-H INVOLVING POTENTIALLY GUILTY PARTIES.

[1](#)4. BASED ON THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US, IT IS THE CONCLUSION OF ALL INTERESTED ELEMENTS OF THIS EMBASSY THAT CROATIAN FORCES IN BOSNIA HAVE NOT ENGAGED IN ETHNIC CLEANSING -- EITHER AS A MATTER OF
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02586 01 OF 03 041600Z
POLICY DIRECTED BY SENIOR LEADERS OR AS A WIDESPREAD PRACTICE ON THE GROUND. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT IN ISOLATED INSTANCES IN B-H MUSLIMS AND SERBS HAVE NOT FLED IN THE FACE OF CROATIAN ARMS. NOR IS IT TO

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02586 02 OF 03 041602Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00
	ANHR-01	CISA-02	EB-01	CSCE-00	FDRE-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SCT-03	SP-00
	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	FMP-00	/063W		
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P 031553Z DEC 92
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2949
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION USVIENNA
USIA WASHDC 2556

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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02586 02 OF 03 041602Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 ZAGREB 02586

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ARGUE THAT CERTAIN CROATIAN ELEMENTS, NOTABLY HOS, DID NOT ENGAGE IN ISOLATED CRIMES AS HEINOUS AS SOME OF THOSE ROUTINELY COMMITTED BY BOSNIAN SERB FORCES. BUT WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF CROATIAN FORCES ENGAGING IN ETHNIC CLEANSING AS THAT TERM IS NOW USEFULLY APPLIED TO THE CONCLUSIVELY-DOCUMENTED BOSNIAN SERB PRACTICE OF: BOMBARDING A VILLAGE FROM AFAR, ENTERING IT IN A SHOWY DISPLAY OF MILITARY FORCE, IMMEDIATELY COMMITTING SUCH TERRORIZING PUBLIC ATROCITIES AS SLITTING A DOZEN OR SO PERSONS' THROATS ON THEIR DOORSTEP AND RAPING A YOUNG GIRL OR TWO IN FRONT OF THEIR FAMILIES AND OTHER TOWNSFOLK IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE, THEN TRANSPORTING THE MEN AND BOYS TO TORTURE AND DEATH CAMPS AND THE WOMEN AND GIRLS TO SERBIAN

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02586 02 OF 03 041602Z
MILITARY BROTHERS. ANYONE WHO HAS READ THE ACCOUNTS OF THE SERBIAN DEATH CAMP SURVIVORS WILL KNOW THAT THIS IS NOT HYPERBOLE.

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15. CULPABILITY FOR THE EVENTS IN NOVI TRAVNIK AND PROZOR IN MID-OCTOBER IS DISPUTED. THE CROATS CLAIM TO HAVE RADIO INTERCEPT "PROOF" OF ORDERS GIVEN BY RADICAL MUSLIM ELEMENTS TO KILL CROATS. THERE ARE OTHER REPORTS OF BATTLE CRIES FROM CROATIAN ELEMENTS TO KILL MUSLIMS. AND THE AFTERMATH INDICATES THAT

MUSLIM CIVILIANS DID SUFFER DISPROPORTIONATELY. NOTWITHSTANDING WHO IS MORE GUILTY FOR THIS BOUT OF CROATIAN/MUSLIM MADNESS, BOTH SIDES ARE PAINFULLY AWARE THAT IT CONTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO THE FALL OF JAJCE. IN THE WAKE OF THAT TRAGEDY, IZETBEGOVIC AND TUDJMAN SAY THEY HAVE CLEARED THE AIR, AND CROATIAN AND MUSLIM FORCES APPEAR TO HAVE REESTABLISHED A MODICUM OF CIVILITY AND COOPERATION IN MILITARY ACTIONS. ALTHOUGH WE ARE NOT AWARE OF SUBSEQUENT "PROZORS," NONE OF THIS IS TO SAY THAT THERE WON'T BE OTHER CROATIAN/MUSLIM SKIRMISHES FROM WHICH MUSLIMS AND/OR CROATS MAY FLEE. IT IS TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT BY NO REASONABLE STRETCH OF MIND OR LANGUAGE DOES "PROZOR" CONSTITUTE EVIDENCE OF CROATIAN ETHNIC CLEANSING, LET ALONE A LIKELIHOOD OF "CONTINUED" CROATIAN ETHNIC CLEANSING.

16. THE PERVERSE IRONY IN THIS TIRESOME CHARGE IS EVIDENT IN WHAT UNHCR SPECIAL ENVOY MENDILUCE TOLD EUR/EE DIRECTOR HABIB NOV 20. MENDILUCE OBSERVED THAT SOME 350,000 MUSLIMS ARE NOW LIVING OR SHELTERING
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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 02586 02 OF 03 041602Z
IN CROATIAN-DEFENDED B-H (IN ADDITION TO THE OVER 350,000 B-H MUSLIM REFUGEES IN CROATIA). MENDILUCE NOTED THAT ONE OF THE KEY PROBLEMS WITH THE BOSNIAN CROATS WAS THEIR APPARENT DETERMINATION TO KEEP OUT

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PAGE 01 ZAGREB 02586 03 OF 03 041604Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	CA-02	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00
	ANHR-01	CISA-02	EB-01	CSCE-00	FDRE-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SCT-03	SP-00
	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	FMP-00	/063W		
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P 031553Z DEC 92
FM AMEMBASSY ZAGREB
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2950
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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PAGE 02 ZAGREB 02586 03 OF 03 041604Z
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THE VAST NUMBER OF SERB-GENERATED MUSLIM REFUGEES
SEEKING TO FLEE DISPUTED OR B-H GOV'T-DEFENDED
TERRITORY FOR THE RELATIVE SECURITY OF BOSNIAN
CROAT-DEFENDED TURF. THIS PRACTICE, ESPECIALLY IF IT
PERSISTS, WILL WARRANT GREATER ATTENTION, AS WILL
REPORTED SPORADIC CROATIAN BLOCKAGES OF RELIEF
CONVOYS. BUT IT STANDS ON ITS HEAD THE ALLEGATION
THAT CROATS ARE NOW ENGAGED IN ETHNIC CLEANSING OF
MUSLIMS IN B-H.

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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 02586 03 OF 03 041604Z
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